

PEKING REVIEW

33

August 11, 1967

BOMBARD THE HEADQUARTERS

— My Big-Character Poster

(August 5, 1966)

MAO TSE-TUNG

Completely Smash the Bourgeois Headquarters

Hongqi editorial commemorates first anniversary of 11th
Plenary Session of 8th Central Committee of Chinese
Communist Party.

Kenji Miyamoto Group's Betrayal

Renmin Ribao Commentator

北
京
周
報

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

You must concern yourselves with state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

(August 1966)

* * *

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

Problems of War and Strategy

(November 1938)

* * *

According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army.

ibid.



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman

BOMBARD THE HEADQUARTERS

—My Big-Character Poster

(August 5, 1966)

MAO TSE-TUNG

China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster and Commentator's article on it in *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) are indeed superbly written! Comrades, please read them again. But in the last fifty days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels have acted in a diametrically opposite way. Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their head and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous! Viewed in connection with the Right deviation in 1962 and the wrong tendency of 1964 which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, shouldn't this make one wide awake?

Completely Smash the Bourgeois Headquarters

— Commemorating the First Anniversary of the 11th Plenary Session
Of the Party's Eighth Central Committee

THE situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution is becoming better and better. The worker, peasant and soldier masses and the heroic young Red Guard fighters, with bitter hatred for the class enemy, are waging an all-round struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and are criticizing and repudiating them in a big way. There is a fresh revolutionary upsurge to completely smash the bourgeois headquarters. It is in this fresh revolutionary upsurge that the people of the whole country, in a militant frame of mind, are celebrating the first anniversary of the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee.

The greatest historic accomplishments of the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee were: establishing still more firmly the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought; confirming as the deputy supreme commander of the whole Party Comrade Lin Biao, who has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line most faithfully, resolutely and thoroughly; and further consolidating the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, and defeating the bourgeois headquarters headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The documents of the plenary session drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance systematically laid down and advanced the theory, line, principles, method and policy for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; they pointed out to the people of the whole country the road to victory in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism, and in advancing from socialism to communism. This session was of great historic significance, deciding the fate of our Party and state and that of the international communist movement.

The 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party was convened at a crucial juncture in the sharp struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters. It was convened when the great proletarian cultural revolution

was facing the danger of being strangled by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. At that grave moment, our great leader Chairman Mao wrote his big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters." He said:

"China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster and Commentator's article on it in *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) [for full text of both see *Peking Review*, No. 37, 1966. — *Tr.*] are indeed superbly written! Comrades, please read them again. But in the last fifty days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels have acted in a diametrically opposite way. Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their head and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous! Viewed in connection with the Right deviation in 1962 and the wrong tendency of 1964 which was 'Left' in form but Right in essence, shouldn't this make one wide awake?"

This big-character poster is a most brilliant revolutionary document. It provided the guiding thought for the session and laid down the general principles for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

"Bombard the Headquarters" blasted the lid off the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line and between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters which had existed in the Party over a long period. It made the entire Party and people understand more clearly the main object and task of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The bourgeois headquarters is composed of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road with China's Khrushchov as its chieftain. They are the main target of the great proletarian cul-

tural revolution, and the main task of this revolution is to overthrow them completely.

The big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters" penetratingly exposed the reactionary nature of the bourgeois headquarters, which, adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, enforced a bourgeois dictatorship. Chairman Mao in his big-character poster exposed the fact that some leading personnel from the central down to the local levels "acted in a diametrically opposite way." That means in a way opposed to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and the leading personnel from the central down to the local levels mentioned here are the handful of people headed by China's Khrushchov making up the bourgeois headquarters. The big-character poster laid bare the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and called on the whole Party to be "wide awake." It was a great call to battle to the whole Party and the people of the whole country to completely smash the bourgeois headquarters.

Throughout the entire historical period of socialism there always exists a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The struggle between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters is the most concentrated expression of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. It is of the greatest importance to destroy completely this hidden headquarters of the bourgeoisie in order to prevent our Party and country from changing colour.

Under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, especially after the fight against the Rightists in 1957, the capitalists are none of them in a position to take command though they have always been dreaming of a capitalist restoration. Only the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are in a position to take command and attempt to restore capitalism on behalf of the bourgeoisie. They are the agents of the bourgeoisie in the leading organs of the Party and the state. It is a matter of course that there should appear in the Party the struggle between the two headquarters; it is an inevitable reflection of classes, class contradiction and class struggle in society.

The bourgeoisie still has considerable influence in society, but as the saying goes "a bird without a head cannot fly and a snake without a head cannot crawl." Its head is the bourgeois headquarters hidden within the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This bourgeois headquarters is the principal and most dangerous enemy of the proletariat.

The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat teaches us that unless the bourgeois head-

quarters hidden in the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat is crushed, the whole Party and state will inevitably change colour. The fundamental reason for the capitalist restoration which has occurred in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and some other socialist countries is that the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in those countries have usurped the leadership of the Party and the state. This is the gravest lesson in the international communist movement.

Chairman Mao has pointed out that the main target of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the bourgeois headquarters hidden within the apparatus of this dictatorship. It is against this section within the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat that we are making revolution. Taking our Party and state as a whole, the bourgeois headquarters is not in a dominant position, but unless it is overthrown it is impossible to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. This theory has been formulated by summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat internationally and in China.

In the course of the protracted struggle against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, Chairman Mao saw through his vicious ambitions and concluded that he was the chief hidden danger to our Party and the chief scourge in it. Over recent years, Chairman Mao has time and again warned the entire Party of the danger of a capitalist restoration in our country, a danger which mainly comes from the bourgeois headquarters headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

The document *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas*, referred to as the 23-article document, worked out under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao in January 1965, put it clearly for the first time: "The main target of the present movement is those persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." China's Khrushchov is the one in the highest position among the persons mentioned here.

During the Working Conference of the Party's Central Committee held in September 1965, Chairman Mao raised the following question at an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee: "What are you going to do if revisionism appears in the Central Committee? This is highly likely. This is the greatest danger." In saying that revisionism might appear in the Central Committee, Chairman Mao was referring to the bourgeois headquarters headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

On May 16, 1966, the *Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party*, drawn up under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao, went further to point out that there are "persons like Khrushchov . . . who are still nestling beside us." A

person like Khrushchov mentioned here is the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

By August 1966, when the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party was held, the counter-revolutionary revisionist features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road had already been fully exposed and the bourgeois headquarters headed by him had put on quite a performance. The time was ripe to bombard the bourgeois headquarters. With vision and great boldness, Chairman Mao decided upon firm and decisive measures, wrote the big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," and resolved to mobilize the masses to smash the bourgeois headquarters.

Smashing the bourgeois headquarters, according to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, is not done by dismissing people from office from above, nor by taking purely organizational steps but by boldly mobilizing the masses, and letting the broad masses struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — the 16-point decision — adopted at the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, is a great revolutionary programme drawn up under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao. The 16-point decision aims the spearhead of the struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The basic spirit that runs through the 16-point decision is that of trusting the masses, relying on them and boldly mobilizing them to open powerful fire at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and to wage a true and thorough socialist revolution from below.

The masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are the real heroes. In the great proletarian cultural revolution it is only possible to thoroughly smash the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov, to capture the reactionary strongholds where they have entrenched themselves in some areas, departments and units and seize back the power that they have usurped by boldly mobilizing hundreds of millions of revolutionary masses, by utilizing the methods of extensive democracy, of full and frank expression of views and opinions, of putting up big-character posters and of carrying out great debates under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to expose, criticize and repudiate the crimes of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

"Bombard the Headquarters" and the 16-point decision have inspired and armed millions of revolutionary people, and have aroused their initiative. The raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution have begun to burn ever more strongly. Hundreds of millions of revolutionary people have been stirred, and the heavy atmosphere of "ten thousand horses standing mute"

resulting from suppression by the bourgeois reactionary line has been cleared away. Throughout the country, there has arisen the situation of "ten thousand guns bombarding" the bourgeois headquarters.

Revolution is the locomotive of history. In the past year, earth-shaking changes have been taking place in China with its population of 700 million people.

Through a year of big struggles, the proletariat has fought a great battle and won a great victory. The counter-revolutionary features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road have been exposed before the broad revolutionary masses. A handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists have been exposed and the reactionary strongholds where they entrenched themselves have been taken. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been further consolidated. The counter-revolutionary front of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has collapsed all along the line. In their struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line, those proletarian revolutionaries who have been oppressed and persecuted have grown from small to big, from weak to strong and from dispersed to concentrated. They have become steeled into a mighty revolutionary army. Tempered in the storms of the class struggle in the past year, a great number of new talented people loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line have come forth. A young generation of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause is rapidly growing up.

These are the great achievements of the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee and of the 16-point decision. They show the great power of "Bombard the Headquarters" and are a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

However, the struggle between the two headquarters and the two lines has not ended. The central task placed before proletarian revolutionaries is to completely repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road politically, ideologically and theoretically and thoroughly smash the bourgeois headquarters. This is a great historic task. In order to accomplish this task, we must strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, reinforce and improve the instruments of this dictatorship and firmly support and defend the proletarian revolutionaries.

We must understand that only by thoroughly overthrowing the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road politically, ideologically and theoretically and by completely smashing the bourgeois headquarters can we guarantee that our Party and state will not change colour, and that the great proletarian cultural revolution will be carried through to the end. Only in the course of the struggle to accomplish this task can we achieve and consolidate the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. And only so is it possible to carry on well the tasks of struggle-criticism-trans-

formation in one's own department, and succeed in the struggle to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and really do a good job in wielding power for the proletariat. If we forget this central task it means that we have forgotten Chairman Mao's teaching: **"You must concern yourselves with state affairs"** and forgotten the great proletarian cultural revolution and the socialist road, and we are in danger of losing our bearings and going astray.

Revolutionary dialectics is irresistible. The bourgeois headquarters will be smashed. The great pro-

letarian cultural revolution will win complete and all-round victory.

Comrades of the proletarian revolutionaries, young revolutionary fighters! As we commemorate the first anniversary of the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee and the big-character poster **"Bombard the Headquarters,"** let us hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and strive to perform new deeds in completely smashing the bourgeois headquarters!

(*"Hongqi"* editorial, No. 13, 1967.)

人民日報
RENMIN RIBAO

Bombard the Bourgeois Headquarters

ONE year ago today, at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, our great leader Chairman Mao put up his big-character poster **"Bombard the Headquarters,"** a poster of great historic significance. This makes that day an important date which will be recorded as a landmark in the history of China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

He wrote:

"China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster and Commentator's article on it in Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) are indeed superbly written! Comrades, please read them again. But in the last fifty days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels have acted in a diametrically opposite way. Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their head and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous! Viewed in connection with the Right deviation in 1962 and the wrong tendency of 1964 which was 'Left' in form but Right in essence, shouldn't this make one wide awake?"

This big-character poster concentrated its fire on bombarding China's top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. It exposed the bourgeois headquarters hidden in the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat and within the Party. It sounded a clarion call for a sweeping advance in the proletarian cultural revolution.

When they read **"Bombard the Headquarters,"** it suddenly dawned upon the proletarian revolutionaries

that there were two radically antagonistic headquarters inside the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. One was the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao; the other was the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov. The antagonism and struggle between two headquarters were the concentrated expression of the extremely sharp, complicated and deep-going struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As soon as the great proletarian cultural revolution appeared on the horizon, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, with their reactionary class instincts, sensed that this revolution sounded the death knell of the bourgeois headquarters. Therefore they put up a desperate struggle.

The bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov which worked under cover within the Party for a long time is the most dangerous enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. Flying red flags to hide their true colours, they lay in ambush by the side of Chairman Mao. The easiest way to take a stronghold is from within. Counter-revolutionary activities aimed at subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat in China were conducted at both the upper and lower levels, and mainly at the upper level. The greatest danger lay at the upper level. In the Soviet Union, the bourgeois headquarters took shape, headed by Khrushchov. It usurped the leadership of the Party and the state, and the whole country rapidly changed its colour. We have to take warning when the cart in front overturns.

The bourgeois headquarters hidden in the Party was rigged up by a handful of people taking the capitalist road who had wormed their way into the leading bodies of the Party and who colluded with each other.

They are big careerists and conspirators who usurped real power. They got control of part of the state apparatus, held part of the power in the Party, the government and the army, and to a considerable extent controlled the positions in the ideological sphere in China. China's top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was an important figure wielding great power and influence. The other counter-revolutionary revisionists including Peng Teh-huai, Peng Chen, Lo Jui-ching, Lu Ting-yi and Yang Shang-kun were either in civil or military positions, some grabbed Party power, others took control of the pen and still others of the gun. In short, they stretched their hands into all spheres, desperately seizing and holding fast to positions vital for staging a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and for overthrowing the political power of the proletariat. If the proletariat were not vigilant against this bourgeois headquarters and if it remained apathetic and allowed that headquarters to exist and expand unchecked, then, as Chairman Mao sharply pointed out, **"it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour."**

At the crucial moment of the struggle between the bourgeoisie attempting to stage a come-back and the proletariat fighting to frustrate this attempt, our greatest leader of genius Chairman Mao and his closest comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao sharply and penetratingly saw through the entire subversive scheme of this bourgeois headquarters within the Party, and unerringly bore down upon its counter-revolutionary manoeuvre in good time.

Chairman Mao has studied and summed up the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat both at home and abroad and, in particular, drawn a bitter historical lesson from the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union by the Khrushchov counter-revolutionary revisionist clique. He has personally launched and led the unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution in the course of which hundreds of millions of people have been mobilized from the bottom up to expose and overthrow the bourgeois headquarters within the Party headed by China's Khrushchov.

The main task in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the fundamental measure for the prevention of the restoration of capitalism is completely to destroy the bourgeois headquarters within the Party. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the main target of the revolution is this bourgeois headquarters and its agents in various areas and departments, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. This is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's greatest creative contribution to and the latest development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has been unhorsed by the proletarian revolutionaries in the course of the earth-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution. The bourgeois headquarters within the Party has been badly battered. However, this bourgeois headquarters and its agents in various areas and departments are using what influence they still have to deceive a number of people and muster the conservative forces to launch a wild counter-attack. The serious political incident that recently took place in Wuhan was indeed a very clear exposure of this.

The Central Committee of the Party has called on the proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country to mobilize themselves, concentrate all forces and focus on the target so as to further deepen and extend the revolutionary mass campaign to criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, politically, ideologically and theoretically.

We must be clear that though the bourgeois headquarters has been stripped of its organizational and administrative powers, the pernicious influence of the bourgeois reactionary line pushed by them over a long period is very deep and far-reaching. If the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation is not carried through to the end, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road with China's Khrushchov as their chief representative might come to life again and make use of their political and ideological influence to continue to poison the masses and oppose the proletarian headquarters. Are not these stubborn class enemies still putting up a desperate resistance and frenzied counter-attack? Refuting them politically, ideologically and theoretically and discrediting them completely, therefore, amounts to smashing the bourgeois headquarters beyond repair.

We must understand that the great battle to smash the bourgeois headquarters has been waged under the absolute leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. It is imperative that under all circumstances we follow unswervingly and closely our great leader Chairman Mao, the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and the proletarian headquarters headed by him. Every proletarian revolutionary fighter must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and correctly bring his own thinking and action into line with Mao Tse-tung's thought so as to be truly able to fight wherever Chairman Mao directs.

The proletarian revolutionaries must form an alliance, stand firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters and unite with the revolutionary masses, so as to perform great new exploits in destroying the bourgeois headquarters and to carry China's great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, August 5.)

Nationwide Army Day Celebrations

THE 40th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army was celebrated throughout China by the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary masses and army units of the three services of the P.L.A. Since August 1, China's Army Day, celebration meetings have been held in big and medium-sized cities, villages, factories, government organizations and schools. Armymen and civilians gathered together in their thousands for mutual encouragement and exchange of experience. They rejoiced in their militant friendship newly strengthened in the great proletarian cultural revolution. No place was without its inspiring examples of the way the army concerns itself with the people and the people support their army. Both are determined to strengthen their solidarity still further in the fight against the common enemy, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao's Thinking on People's War—Beacon Light for the World's People Fighting For Liberation

As they celebrated the Army Day, China's hundreds of millions of fighters and civilians warmly acclaimed the publication in the press of their great supreme commander Chairman Mao's quotations on people's war, and the re-publication of *Long Live the Victory of People's War*, the brilliant work by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, close comrade-in-arms of their great leader Chairman Mao.

The heroic commanders and fighters of the fighting services and proletarian revolutionaries pointed out that Chairman Mao's theory on people's war is an important component part of Mao Tse-tung's thought—Marxism-Leninism of the present era. His brilliant ideas on encircling the cities from the countryside and the seizure of political power by armed force are a development of consummate genius in Marxism-Leninism. The military theory which he has formulated in the course of a long period of revolutionary wars is the most comprehensive, the most scientific and the greatest military theory representing the peak of Marxist-Leninist theory in this sphere. The great Chairman Mao, the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, has not only opened up for the Chinese people the sole correct road to nationwide victory in the revolution, but also lighted the path to liberation for the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the whole world. The mass gatherings expressed their determination to answer Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's great call and work hard to truly master Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Restudying Chairman Mao's quotations on people's war and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's *Long Live the Victory of People's War* in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, China's hundreds of millions of army men and civilians have gained a deep understanding of Chairman Mao's great teaching that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** They say that Chairman Mao has taught them that **"the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army,"** and **"Only with guns can the whole world be transformed."** These are theses summing up the experience the proletariat of China and the world gained at the cost of blood. All this is Marxist-Leninist truth which is universally applicable.

The Chinese people, led by the great leader Chairman Mao, have grasped this truth and opened up the road to victory. To achieve genuine liberation, the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world must also arm themselves with Chairman Mao's theory of people's war, follow this path to victory, and use the gun to smash the old state machines, overthrow imperialism and its lackeys and transform the entire world.

The brilliant work *Long Live the Victory of People's War* has systematically and creatively expounded Chairman Mao's military thinking and is a sparkling model in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. Army men and civilians alike pledged themselves to take Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as their example in their study of Chairman Mao's great thought on military affairs, to stand resolutely on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and to be always loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and his proletarian revolutionary line. In the current mass campaign of revolutionary criticism and repudiation, they are determined to knock down completely and thoroughly discredit China's Khrushchov and his agents in the army—Peng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ching and their like—politically, ideologically and theoretically, to thoroughly eliminate the poisonous effect of the reactionary bourgeois military line these persons pursued, to establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought and strive to turn the army into a great, red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In Peking, Shanghai, Tsinan, Sining, Huhhot and other places, meetings, discussions and get-togethers were organized by army units and the local revolutionary masses to discuss the great victory of Chairman Mao's military line. At these gatherings it was pointed out that the 40 years of the building of the Chinese

People's Liberation Army are 40 years of brilliant victories for Chairman Mao's great military theory, 40 years in which Chairman Mao's military line has continuously triumphed over the reactionary bourgeois military line. The road pointed out by Chairman Mao is the road to victory and his line is the line of victory.

National Defence Ministry Holds Grand Reception

The Ministry of National Defence gave a grand reception in the Great Hall of the People in the evening of July 31 to celebrate the P.L.A.'s 40th anniversary.

Leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, the All-Army Cultural Revolution Group, the various General Departments of the P.L.A. and the three services of the P.L.A. attended the reception together with proletarian revolutionary fighters and anti-imperialist fighters from various countries.

Among those present were:

Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chu Teh and Li Fu-chun;

First Deputy Head of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee Chiang Ching, Deputy Head of the Group Chang Chun-chiao, and members of the Group Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu and Yao Wen-yuan;

Members and Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Members of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee: Chen Yi, Liu Po-cheng, Li Hsien-nien, Tan Chen-lin, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsueh-feng, Sung Jen-chiung, Hsieh Fu-chih and Liu Ning-I;

Members of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and principal leading members of the All-Army Cultural Revolution Group, the Ministry of National Defence, the various General Departments, the fighting services of the P.L.A.: Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Su Yu, Yeh Chun, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Wang Shu-sheng, Li Tso-peng, Wu Fa-hsien, Yu Li-chin, Chiu Hui-tso and Chang Chih-ming;

Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Chairmen of the National Defence Council: Kuo Mo-jo, Cheng Chien, Chang Chih-chung, Chou Chien-jen, Fu Tso-yi and Tsai Ting-kai.

Among those who attended the reception and took their seats at the main guests' tables were: Le Thanh

Nghi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party, Vice-Premier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Head of the Government Economic Delegation; Vasil Nathanaili, Albanian Ambassador to China, and his wife; Le Tung Son, Acting Head of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to China; Thakin Ba Thein Tin, First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma and Head of the Delegation of the Party's Central Committee; R.D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, and his wife; and Kinkazu Saionji, Deputy Secretary-General of the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions.

A militant revolutionary atmosphere prevailed in the banquet chamber of the Great Hall of the People.

Yang Cheng-wu, Acting Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A., who spoke at the reception, pointed out that the Chinese People's Liberation Army is a people's army of a new type which our great supreme commander Chairman Mao has personally built and fostered; it is a heroic army armed with the ever-victorious, great thought of Mao Tse-tung. During protracted and bitter struggles against the class enemies both at home and abroad and during the struggles between the two lines, this army has consistently stood firm on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line; it is a **genuine proletarian** revolutionary army which has always been loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

"Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist, the greatest genius and the most outstanding supreme commander of our era," he said. "Mao Tse-tung's thought constitutes an entirely new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism; it is the guiding principle for all our work. Chairman Mao's thought on military affairs forms the most comprehensive, the most scientific and the greatest revolutionary military theory in the history of the development of Marxism; it is the acme of the Marxist-Leninist military theory of our era. Every victory of our army is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is just as Comrade Lin Piao has said: 'A people's army created in accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of army building is incomparably strong and invincible.'"

Comrade Yang Cheng-wu went on to say that our deputy supreme commander Comrade Lin Piao had done better than anyone else in holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and in studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. In the last several decades, Comrade Lin Piao had always implemented Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line most faithfully, most firmly and most thoroughly. Creatively applying Mao Tse-tung's thought, Comrade Lin Piao had led our army in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, given prominence to proletarian politics and built our army into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, thereby making outstanding con-

tributions to the revolutionization and modernization of our army. "We are most fortunate," he said, "to be under the wise leadership of our great supreme commander Chairman Mao and under the direct command of Comrade Lin Piao!"

Also present at the banquet were leading members of military area commands now in Peking, leading members of the various P.L.A. General Departments, of the Scientific and Technological Commission for National Defence, the various services, branches and military academies, representatives of military control, proletarian revolutionaries of the leading organs of the P.L.A. and activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works from various army units and representatives of outstanding units, "five-good" fighters, combat heroes and those who had made outstanding contributions in atom and hydrogen bomb tests and in the work of supporting the masses of the Left, assisting industrial and agricultural production and exercising military control and giving military and political training.

Also among the foreign guests present at the reception were:

Diplomatic envoys, military attaches and other diplomatic officials from various countries;

Carmelo Fragomeni, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist); Hugh McLeod, Member of the National Committee of the New Zealand Communist Party; Benedito de Carvalho, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil; Ichihei Sugiyama, representative of Djawoto, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association; Bhayom Chulanond, the representative abroad of the Patriotic Front of Thailand; P.V. Sarma, Chief Representative of the Mission of the Malayan National Liberation League in China; Enrico Rambaldi, head of the Delegation to China of the Italian Association for Cultural and Friendly Relations with the People's Republic of China; Chihiro Kanamalu, Secretary-General of the Japanese "Haguruma" theatre; and Ouedraogo, head of the delegation from the Federation of Students of Black Africa in France.

Army-Civilian Get-Togethers

More than 50,000 commanders and fighters of the three services of the P.L.A. and proletarian revolutionaries of the capital held grand celebrations in Zhongshan Park and the Great Hall of the People in the evenings of July 31 and August 1.

Leading members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the People's Government, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee attended. Also present were activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works from various armed units, "five-good" soldiers, combat heroes, members of the revolutionary masses from all walks of life, young Red Guard fighters, labour heroes in industry and agriculture, and proletarian revolutionaries from government organizations. All joined

together in singing *The East Is Red* and *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*, and in wishing Chairman Mao, the very red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts, a long, long life! There were performances of model revolutionary theatrical works and revolutionary songs and dances staged by revolutionary art workers of Peking and the P.L.A.

In Shanghai, over 10,000 members of the three services of the P.L.A. stationed in the city, local proletarian revolutionaries and others of the revolutionary masses held a grand celebration on July 31. They unanimously expressed their determination to respond to Chairman Mao's great call for the army to cherish the people and the people to support the army, to unite with one heart in raising high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in revolutionary criticism of the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and the army, with China's Khrushchov as their general representative, and in bringing about a new upsurge in revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and mass struggle in order to completely demolish and thoroughly discredit that gang.

Army-civilian get-togethers were also held in Tsinan, Harbin, Chengtu, Kweiyang, Kunming, Honan and other cities and provinces.

Armed units guarding China's frontiers and the coastal front joined with the local people to mark the festival.

Amid these celebrations, proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses throughout the country sent their warm regards to the people's armymen defending the motherland and safeguarding the great proletarian cultural revolution and to those who have made new contributions in supporting the Left among the masses, in assisting industrial and agricultural production and in exercising military control and in giving military and political training.

50,000 Armymen and Civilians Swim Across the Yangtse

On August 1, 50,000 proletarian revolutionaries of Wuhan and commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. stationed in that area who have fought shoulder to shoulder with them in making a breakthrough in the storms and waves of the class struggle, swam triumphantly across the Yangtse River, following the course pioneered by their great leader Chairman Mao.

It was a clear, bright day. Red flags flew and songs resounded along the banks of the rolling Yangtse. It was an occasion celebrating the start of a new, victorious stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution in Wuhan. It was a grand review of the great unity of the proletarian revolutionaries, of the mighty unity of army and civilians at Wuhan. It was a grand occasion on which the armymen and people of Wuhan pledged themselves to march on victoriously to crush and thoroughly discredit China's Khrushchov and his agents in the area.

GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN PROGRESS

500 Million Peasants Denounce China's Khrushchov

THE militant revolutionary peasants of the rural people's communes are bringing their mighty force to bear in the current nationwide campaign to criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

In suburban Peking and Shanghai, in Heilungkiang Province in the northeast, Kweichow in the southwest and Kiangsu Province in east China, many production teams are linking up this criticism with the history of class struggle in their localities. Recalling their own sufferings and hardships in the old China, poor and lower-middle peasants especially reject and denounce the "four freedoms" (freedom of usury, of hiring labour, land sale and private enterprise) so vigorously advocated by China's Khrushchov. They condemn him for slashing at one time the number of agricultural producers' co-operatives and for his vicious plans to restore capitalism by enlarging the area of plots for private use, extending free markets, increasing the number of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses and fixing output quotas based on the individual household. They also refuted his reactionary theories that "exploitation is justified" and that "the class struggle is dying out" and many of those fallacies advanced in his sinister book on "self-cultivation."

Though busy with summer work, members of one production team in Taopu People's Commune on the outskirts of Shanghai held six small meetings in the fields and seven team meetings in the evening, at each of which they concentrated their criticism on one counter-revolutionary statement made by China's Khrushchov.

Of the 28 households in that village, five were former farm hands and 14 had tilled land leased from landlords. Most of them were victims of usury. On the basis of their own personal experiences, they bitterly denounced the crimes of the exploiters and the nonsense that "exploitation has its merits."

In 1954, as they recalled, 18 households of poor and lower-middle peasants voluntarily merged their mutual aid teams into an agricultural producers' co-operative. Yet the handful of capitalist roaders in the then Shanghai Municipal Party Committee refused to approve it. Now, they declared, "we know that the boss who slashed the number of co-operatives was none other than that Khrushchov of China."

Such criticism and repudiation is an excellent class education for the peasant masses. They now see clearly that in the 17 years since liberation, this No. 1 revisionist was up to his tricks whenever a gust of evil capitalist wind blew or an anti-socialist wave was stirred up in the rural areas. They realize well that had they acted according to the ideas of this top capitalist roader within the Party, capitalism would have been restored in the countryside and the overthrown landlords and rich peasants would have got up on their backs again. Participation in this mass criticism has made them still firmer in following Chairman Mao's teachings to take the socialist road and consolidate the collective economy, so as to achieve complete emancipation of the nation's 500 million peasants.

Academy of Sciences Sets Up Revolutionary Committee

AMIDST the militant sounds of mass criticism and struggle against China's Khrushchov, the proletarian revolutionaries from the Chinese Academy of Sciences gathered in Peking's Great Hall of the People to mark the birth of the revolutionary committee of the Academy on the afternoon of July 30. There was a festive mood in the magnificent hall and it was filled with an air of militant solidarity. In the middle of the rostrum hung a huge portrait of our great leader Chairman Mao, which was like the red sun illuminating the entire hall.

Present at the rally were leading comrades of the Party Central Committee and responsible comrades of various departments concerned: Chou En-lai, Li Fu-chun, Nieh Jung-chen, Kuo Mo-jo, Hsiao Hua, Su Yu, Wu Teh and others.

Premier Chou En-lai extended greetings to the Academy's proletarian revolutionaries and congratulated them on the occasion on behalf of the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao, the Party Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee. He said: You have gone through a year of arduous struggle, making revolution by yourselves and liberating yourselves. Over the past two months, through the mass struggle and mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party in your Academy, you have now forged a great alliance of the revolutionaries and founded the revolutionary committee based on "three-in-one combination," which consists of

representatives from the revolutionary mass organizations, revolutionary leading cadres and representatives of the People's Liberation Army. This is worthy of congratulations. Premier Chou encouraged all present to excel themselves in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to hold still higher the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, and to do a good job in struggle-criticism-transformation in the Academy through the mass struggle and mass criticism and repudiation, so as to spur the development of science by leaps and bounds.

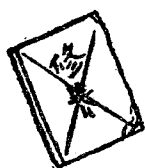
The proletarian revolutionaries in the Academy of Sciences emerged and were steeled in the arduous struggle against the white terror brought about by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the Academy. Under the guidance of the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, they exposed that handful and seized power from them. But at that crucial moment in the struggle to seize power, serious differences developed among the various revolutionary mass organizations and heated debates arose over a series of important questions on the great proletarian cultural revolution. Later, after repeatedly studying Chairman Mao's *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, they saw that contradictions among the revolutionary mass organizations belonged to the category of contradictions among the people and could be settled

only by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression. The various revolutionary mass organizations, guided by Chairman Mao's teachings, all carried out open door rectification [criticism and self-criticism meetings at which anyone is allowed to take part and speak] and responsible members of the revolutionary mass organizations made conscientious self-criticism. Differences between the revolutionary mass organizations melted away, and on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought and with a common aim of unity against the enemy, the more than 20,000 members of the 50-odd Peking-located units of the Academy formed a great alliance in mid July.

They followed this by raising still higher the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation. And in the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of hitting hard at "the dog in the water" and fiercely pursuing, in meetings and big-character posters, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists inside the Academy, a high tide of exposure, criticism and repudiation and struggle arose. In the course of the mass criticism and repudiation movement, many revolutionary cadres by word and action made clear that they stood with the revolutionary masses and thus won the support and confidence of the masses. This created the conditions for a revolutionary "three-in-one combination."

Down With Anyone Who Opposes Chairman Mao!

by KU AH-TAO*



The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, is rotten through and through, and it was he who wrote that rotten book on "self-cultivation" of Communists. What sort of thing is that "self-cultivation"? It is more poisonous than arsenic, and stinks worse than dog droppings. To read it is like taking dope. It makes a body lose all sense of direction.

This book points to the mulberry while abusing the locust tree [abuses someone by insinuation]; it makes vile attacks on Chairman Mao, who is the reddest red sun in our hearts, and opposes Mao Tse-tung's thought, the source of life for us poor and lower-middle peasants.



This ambitious careerist forgets that we 700 million

Chinese people are united as solid as a wall of bronze. He had the insolence to commit such a monstrous crime as to madly attack Chairman Mao.



This sinister book attacks Chairman Mao, our great leader, as "self-appointed" and says he "most certainly cannot be leader." A mad attack like this is like

a cur snapping at the sun. Chairman Mao is the great

* The author is a 53-year-old poor peasant of Taichang County, Kiangsu Province, who is an outstanding activist in studying Chairman Mao's works. Criticizing and repudiating China's Khrushchov, she has addressed many meetings in her county, in people's communes, production brigades and teams. Since she is illiterate, she often asks someone to draw pictures as "notes" for her speeches. The above is a translation, with the original pictures, of her speech repudiating the book on "self-cultivation" of Communists.—Ed.

leader of the Chinese people, the great teacher of the revolutionary people of the world, the very red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts. We poor and lower-middle peasants ardently love and support our great leader Chairman Mao, who has the greatest faith in us poor and lower-middle pea-



sants and shows the greatest care and concern for us. He is to us as blood is to flesh, water to fish and the vine to the melon. Our hearts beat as one. He is our guide, benefactor, and saviour.



"You must concern yourselves with state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!" Chairman Mao has told us. And under his leadership we have set going the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is going ahead vigorously, to make sure that our proletarian land will never change its political colour in all the generations to come.



"Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung"

Without Chairman Mao's correct leadership there would have been no victory of the revolution and we poor and lower-middle peasants would never have escaped from hell. To us poor and lower-middle peasants Chairman Mao is dearest and closest of all. As a ship at sea depends on the helmsman, as all living things depend on the sun, so we poor and lower-middle peasants can never for a mo-

ment be separated from our great leader Chairman Mao.



Under the pretext of urging Communists to be "good students of Marx and Lenin" that sinister book on "self-cultivation" prevents them from being good students of Chairman Mao. That top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road tries to stop us being good students of Chairman Mao, wants us not to study Chairman Mao's works and not to obey Chairman Mao's words because he is afraid of us arming ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought, and so seeing through his big plot to bring about a capitalist restoration. We poor and lower-middle peasants will never be taken in by his tricks.



We will obey Chairman Mao, be his good commune members, and his good pupils. When we study Chairman Mao's works our sight becomes keener, we see clearly who is good and who is bad; our hearing grows sharper, we hear clearly which words are right which are wrong; and our brains work better so that we can separate what is socialist and what is bourgeois. Using the weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the great proletarian cultural revolution we can spot and lay our hands on the ghosts and monsters, drag out that handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and flush that main revisionist out from behind the scenes.



We will fight that No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and opposing Chairman Mao; we'll knock him so flat so that he will never be able to get up again.



In madly opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought while calling for "self-cultivation behind closed doors" that sinister book on "self-cultivation" really wants to divorce us from the class struggle, from revolution and give up the dictatorship of the proletariat.



Chairman Mao's works are works on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They teach us **"Never to forget the class struggle . . . will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute."** The class enemy hasn't given up. We've taken away their property, but reactionary ideas haven't been smashed yet. The class enemy is like June onions — dried leaves, withered roots, but hale of heart.



Seal of Power

"All revolutionary struggles in the world," Chairman Mao has said, "are aimed at seizing power and consolidating it."

In the evil old society political power was in the hands of the reactionaries, landlords, rich peasants and capitalists. We workers, and poor and lower-middle peas-



ants were oppressed and exploited.



I lost my father when I was three and went to work for a capitalist in his factory when I was eight. If I was the least bit slow about anything, the foreman of the capitalist would beat me and I wouldn't even be allowed a whimper. My hands bled as I fished for the ends of thread in icy water in mid winter. I had my fill of misery and suffering. We worked 12 hours, sometimes 18 hours, a day and all we got was 12 cents, not enough even for a body to live on.



I worked in that capitalist factory until I was 24 and as I couldn't make a living there I thought I might do a bit better at home on the land. But what happened? Landlord exploitation as bad as can be hit me as soon as I got back to the village. The grain we harvested wasn't even enough to pay the landlord rent. Day in and day out we worked. Our sweat watered the landlord's land and our hearth was soaked with tears. In the old society political power was in the hands of landlords and capitalists. They lived off the blood of us working people, had fish and meat on their tables and clothes of silk and satin on their backs. We poor and lower-middle peasants didn't even know where our next meal was coming from and our clothes were patched a hundred times over. "Exploitation is no crime," says

that top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. "Exploitation is a crime!" I say. It must be smashed. Exploitation must be wiped out!



Came liberation. The sun broke through the clouds. Political power was taken into the hands of Chairman Mao, the hands of the Communist Party, the hands of us labouring people.



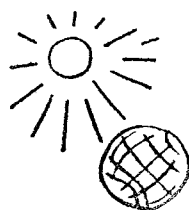
That top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is now dreaming about seizing power from out of our hands, to let landlords, rich peasants and capitalists climb on our

backs once again, to exploit and oppress us again, and make us eat bitterness twice over. No! We will not let them. Never, never, never!



We must never forget class struggle, never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat, never forget to put politics in command, never forget to raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must hang on tight to our guns and our seals of power, then the schemes for restoring capitalism by that top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road will never succeed.

We poor and lower-middle peasants have one desire and that is: to defend Mao Tse-tung's thought with our lives, defend his revolutionary line, and make Mao



Tse-tung's thought light up all China, the whole world, for ever and for ever.



Big-character Poster

We poor and lower-middle peasants are of one will and that is: to completely knock down, repudiate and make that handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road stink, and to follow Chairman Mao closely in making revolu-

tion, and make certain that our socialist land will never change its political colour.



We must study and apply Chairman Mao's works better and more creatively, raise higher the great red banner of Chairman Mao's thought and turn our whole village, our whole nation into a great big red school for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Down with the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader, Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!

Kenji Miyamoto Group's Betrayal

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

THE Kenji Miyamoto revisionist clique of the Communist Party of Japan in a recent statement to the bourgeois press announced that it has recalled Ichiryō Sunama, representative of the C.P.J. in China, and Junichi Konno, *Akahata* correspondent in Peking. It shamelessly lied that Chinese quarters "have taken various measures" to "bring increasing pressure to bear on" Sunama and Konno and "persecute" them. This is another anti-China incident this clique has deliberately manufactured in close co-ordination with the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and the reactionary Eisaku Sato government.

We have long anticipated that the Miyamoto revisionist clique and certain persons harbouring ulterior motives would kick up a fuss against China over Sunama's stay in China. With a view to fully exposing their foul anti-China features and depriving them of any anti-China pretext over the matter, so that the Japanese people could completely see the counter-revolutionary revisionist features of the Miyamoto group, we refrained from expelling Sunama from China. Notwithstanding their anti-China activities, we treated Sunama and Konno with all the courtesy due to guests in China.

It has come to our notice that certain persons with ulterior motives assumed a "Left" posture over the

matter of Sunama's presence in China and accused our Party of not expelling him from China. They tried to incite us to provide the Miyamoto group with anti-China capital. We saw through their designs and ignored the accusation. We waited for the Miyamoto group to come out and see how it would perform, and what mischief it actually wanted to create over the matter.

Sure enough, the group has now actually recalled Sunama and Konno and thus laid down one of its cards against China, thereby once again joining all the other doughty warriors in anti-China activities in an attempt to solicit rewards from the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and Japanese reactionaries.

It is not at all fortuitous that the revisionist leading group of the C.P.J. cooked up this anti-China incident. For a long time now, it has been acting as wretched trumpeters in the noisy anti-China chorus of the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and reactionaries of all countries. The Japanese revisionists have published one anti-China article after another in their newspapers and periodicals. Miyamoto and Sanzo Nosaka have stepped forward in person to deliver anti-China speeches. They venomously vilified and attacked the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people, the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao and

the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as well as the great proletarian cultural revolution now going on in China.

To oppose imperialism it is imperative to oppose revisionism, while opposition to China inevitably leads to capitulation to U.S. imperialism. This is an incontrovertible truth borne out by countless facts in present-day international political life. Whoever opposes U.S. imperialism must oppose the Soviet revisionist ruling clique which serves U.S. imperialism. Whoever opposes socialist China, which holds high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and resolutely supports world revolution, will inevitably capitulate to U.S. imperialism and its accomplice, Soviet revisionism. The evolution of the Miyamoto group in recent years has again borne out this truth.

The Miyamoto group keeps on proclaiming that it wants to oppose U.S. imperialism. Why then does it partner the Soviet revisionists in sabotaging the anti-U.S. struggles of the revolutionary people in the international arena and in Japan? Why does it take such pains to paint the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism, as an anti-U.S. force? To put it bluntly, it fears U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism, war and the revolution. Its opposition to U.S. imperialism is fake; it is actually covering up the Soviet revisionists' capitulation to U.S. imperialism and thereby covering up its own capitulation to U.S. imperialism.

The Miyamoto group never tires of saying that it wants "united action" in combating U.S. imperialism and assisting Vietnam. Why then does it furiously attack socialist China which resolutely opposes U.S. imperialism and wholeheartedly supports the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation? U.S. imperialism opposes China, Soviet revisionism opposes China, the Sato government opposes China, and the Indian, Indonesian and Burmese reactionaries oppose China; what difference after all is there between the Miyamoto group's anti-China activities and those of the others? There is no difference at all, because they and the Miyamoto group are nothing but jackals from the same lair. The "united action" this group advocates is a united anti-China, anti-Communist, anti-people and counter-revolutionary action of all monsters and freaks in the world.

The Miyamoto group ceaselessly claims that it wants "independence" and opposes "subservience to a big party." Why then does it openly shield the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and act as its parrot? Why is it that what it is following is exactly the line of the parliamentary road of "peaceful transition" which the Soviet revisionists are pushing so hard? Why does it use the exact same cliches as the Soviet revisionists in attacking and vilifying the Communist Party of China? What sort of "independence" is this! This group advocates "subservience to a big party" in the true sense of the term. It is "subservient" to the "big party" of the Soviet revisionists. Its headquarters is only a subsidiary branch of the Soviet revisionists in Japan.

The Miyamoto group always shouts that it opposes China's "big-nation chauvinism," alleging that the Chinese Communist Party wants to impose its own line on it. This is absolute nonsense! Does it think we still don't know what kind of scum this group is? How can it be imagined that we want to impose Marxism-Leninism on such a pack of revisionists? As a matter of fact, it is they who have sought by every means to force us to agree to their revisionist views and repeatedly tried to get us to join in their "united action" with the Soviet revisionists. We have adhered to the principled stand of Marxism-Leninism and opposed their revisionist junk. Can this be called "imposing one's own line on others" or "big-nation chauvinism"? Only those who have tried and failed to impose their own revisionist line on others will smear this Marxist-Leninist stand of the Chinese Communist Party as "big-nation chauvinism" seeking to "impose one's own line on others."

The Miyamoto group always claims that it wants to "inherit and develop" the Japanese Communist Party's "tradition" of opposing Japanese imperialist aggression against China. The Japanese Communist Party did indeed have a glorious tradition of opposing Japanese imperialist aggression against China. But it never had the tradition of aiding and abetting Japanese imperialism to oppose China. Rather it is a new "creation" by the Miyamoto group now to join the anti-China ranks under the command of the Sato government, while still waving the banner of a Communist Party. It has in fact betrayed the internationalist revolutionary tradition of the Japanese Communist Party and inherited the anti-China tradition of Japanese militarism.

The Miyamoto group's frantic opposition to China is entirely against the will and wishes of the masses of the Japanese people. By serving as willing anti-China pawns of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the Sato government and grossly betraying the Japanese people's revolutionary cause, the group has joined the ranks of the new scabs of our time.

At present, the true revolutionary forces which uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, in Japan, have begun to rebel in a big way against the Miyamoto group. Their strength is rapidly growing. It is these forces which represent the great hope of the Japanese nation.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: **"The Chinese people are convinced that the Japanese people will be able to drive the U.S. imperialists from their soil and realize their aspirations for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality."**

No force on earth can stem the great historic tide of friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples or undermine the revolutionary comradeship-in-arms between the Marxist-Leninists of the two countries. The Chinese and Japanese peoples will unite still more closely and march triumphantly forward in the great struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

(August 6.)

Indonesian Reactionaries' Desperate Struggle

ON the morning of August 5, the Indonesian fascist military regime headed by Suharto and Nasution called out more than 1,000 troops, policemen and hooligans to attack the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia. The hooligans used a truck to ram their way through the embassy gate. They burnt down two embassy buildings and destroyed the portrait of the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao and the national emblem of the People's Republic of China. Equipped with axes, iron bars and daggers, the hooligans besieged the embassy staff members who were protecting the Chinese flag. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the embassy members put up a valiant fight. Thus, the enemy's attempt to tear down the five-starred red flag flying inside the embassy's front courtyard was foiled. The ruffians' attack went on for one and a half hours. Four of the embassy staff were wounded. During and after the outrage Indonesian armed forces blockaded the Embassy and cut off its telephone connections. The Chinese Charge d'Affaires ad interim who tried to drive to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry to make a protest was prevented from doing so.

At noon on the same day, a responsible member of the First Asian Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry summoned the Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Indonesian Embassy in Peking and lodged the most urgent and strongest protest with the reactionary Indonesian Government. He notified the Charge d'Affaires ad interim that until the reactionary Indonesian Government stopped its fascist anti-China outrages and guaranteed the safety of Chinese embassy personnel, the freedom of movement of Indonesian embassy staff in China was restricted as of that day and they were not allowed to leave the embassy.

In a note to the Indonesian Embassy the next day, the Chinese Foreign Ministry pointed out that the latest fascist assault, which was set up by the reactionary Indonesian Government, was a premeditated move aimed at causing a complete diplomatic rupture between the two countries. By frantically opposing China, it has been fully revealed as a bunch of reactionaries who out-Nazi the Nazis. It would surely be severely punished by the Indonesian and other peoples of the world. The note also said that the Chinese Government reserved the right to take further measures unless it receives a satisfactory reply from the Indonesian Government to its demands that the latter make a public apology, severely punish the culprits and compensate for all the Chinese Embassy's losses; effectively guarantee the security of the Embassy and its personnel; and imme-

diately stop all its outrages in opposing China and persecuting overseas Chinese.

Demonstrations in Peking

This flagrant provocation by the reactionary Indonesian Government naturally aroused the greatest anger on the part of millions of Red Guards and the revolutionary masses in China.

On August 5 and 6, such slogans as "Down with Suharto!" "Down with Nasution!" and "The Indonesian reactionaries will come to no good end in opposing China!" shook the streets of Peking and thundered in front of the Indonesian Embassy. The demonstrators smothered the embassy walls with big-character posters, written slogans and protest notes in Chinese and Indonesian. Some young Red Guard fighters read the Indonesian Charge d'Affaires ad interim this quotation from Chairman Mao: "**Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet' is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind.**" They warned him that they will support the Chinese diplomatic personnel and patriotic overseas Chinese in Indonesia and the Indonesian people in resolutely struggling against the Indonesian reactionaries to the end. The demonstration reached a new high on August 7. On that day alone, 400,000 people participated. Revolutionary youth of the Union of Indonesian Students in China also took part, posting slogans both in Chinese and Indonesian. One slogan signed "Chairman Mao's young revolutionary fighters" said: "A people's war alone can wipe out the Indonesian reactionaries."

Indonesian Reactionaries Heading for Doom

On August 7 an article by *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator saluted the diplomatic personnel of China's Embassy in Indonesia as "courageous fighters battling at the very forefront of the international class struggle" and as "a militant collective armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought." Their heroic struggle against the fascist Indonesian gangsters is not only an enormous encouragement to the people of the motherland but a great encouragement to patriotic Chinese nationals in Indonesia and the broad masses of revolutionary Indonesian people, Commentator wrote.

Commentator refuted the Indonesian fascist military regime's attempts to absolve itself from its responsibility by using words such as "not knowing" about

this anti-China violence and "not knowing the reason" for it.

By the end of July, the Indonesian militarist regime had intensified preparations for a further anti-China campaign and stirred up a new anti-China hysteria. Suharto, headman of the fascist military, openly concocted rumours, falsely accusing China of setting up an "espionage network" in Indonesia. Word was spread all over Djakarta that a new anti-China wave would be whipped up in early August. Even on the day of the outbreak of the current anti-China outrage, the local authorities in Djakarta announced that they would tear down the wall around the Chinese Embassy. This was designed to pour oil on the flames of the anti-China atrocities and thereby create a pretext for more. Since the Indonesian fascist military regime engineered the anti-China outrages in such a planned way, how can it deny its responsibility by claiming it was "without knowledge"?

Commentator also pointed out that from the time it came to power, the Suharto-Nasution military fascist clique has launched an anti-China campaign every time

Indonesia's internal class struggle intensified, strife within the ruling clique sharpened, the economic situation got more out of control, and every time the reactionary regime clamped on the backs of the people became more shaky. This has become a law. It is as true of the present as it was in the past.

This bunch of common enemies of the Indonesian people, which is looking for a way out, is trying in vain to divert the people's attention by a new anti-China tide so as to take a step further in throwing itself into the arms of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. But there is definitely no way out for them, Commentator said.

Commentator quoted what the great leader Chairman Mao said about the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries in 1948: "They are so corrupt, so torn by ever-increasing and irreconcilable internal quarrels, so spurned by the people and utterly isolated . . . that their doom is inevitable." This is the case with the Indonesian reactionaries today. In wildly attacking communism, China and the people, they can only quicken the tempo of the people's revolution and hasten their own ruin.

Tighten the Noose Around British Imperialism's Neck

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

TO maintain its moribund and rotten colonial rule, British imperialism is becoming more and more rabid in its bloody suppression of our fellow countrymen in Hongkong. Since it created armed provocation along the border at Sha Tau Kok on July 8, British imperialism has incurred new blood debts to the Chinese compatriots in Hongkong and the Chinese people as a whole by committing new towering crimes.

It has brutally murdered our patriotic countrymen including, so far as is known, Ho Fung and seven others.

It has unwarrantedly arrested over a thousand people, including those in charge of the struggle committee against British persecution, workers, peasants, journalists, actors, teachers, students, shop clerks, pedlars and residents.

It has called out large numbers of troops and police and sent aircraft carrier-based helicopters to raid, search and wreck more than 50 premises of the patriots, such as trade union offices, schools, department stores, clinics and residential districts.

It has time and again made open and wild provocations against the Hongkong Branch of the Hsinhua News Agency and other Chinese state agencies in Hong-

kong and illegally arrested four Hsinhua correspondents who were either tried or sentenced.

During these raids, the Hongkong British police flagrantly damaged busts and portraits of the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao, tore and destroyed slogans and pictures spreading Mao Tse-tung's thought and violated our sacrosanct national flag.

With the greatest indignation, the Chinese people condemn these fresh bloody crimes by British imperialism in Hongkong. Debts will have to be repaid; trying to cancel them will never do. We shall certainly make the British imperialist robbers in Hongkong pay their incurred debts!

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "We must not show the slightest timidity before a wild beast. We must learn from Wu Sung on the Chingyang Ridge."*

Our patriotic fellow countrymen in Hongkong are doing exactly what Chairman Mao has taught. Un-

*A hero in a Chinese novel, who killed a tiger with his bare hands.—Translator.

(Continued on p. 31.)

Peking Review, No. 33

Let the Red Flag of Naxalbari Fly Still Higher

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

THE revolutionary peasant forces in Naxalbari* and elsewhere in the Darjeeling District have won their first-round victory in the struggle against the "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the reactionary Indian troops and police. The Indian reactionaries' initial repressive actions have failed.

Since July 6, the "non-Congress" government in West Bengal has sent large numbers of troops and police to attack the revolutionary peasants in Naxalbari, but they have found no way of putting down the peasant armed forces, nor have they been able to control the area.

Bravely and skilfully, the peasant armed forces led by revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party have launched guerrilla activities in this area. They are able to take the initiative and attack; they also can instantly move away when confronted by an enemy with superior forces. On July 13, the armed peasants attacked the reactionary troops and police near the police camp in the Kharibari area. Six days later, they opened fire on the police near Tukuria forest, and then easily left the area. A July 23 report in the *United News of India* confessed that the peasant armed forces in the Naxalbari area "can move from place to place within the belt evading police action," adding that the Indian reactionaries could not understand this state of affairs and "has got no answer."

In fact, the answer is very clear. It is that the peasant revolutionary armed forces in Naxalbari have won the support of the peasant masses. In contrast, the reactionaries are extremely isolated from the masses. Provided that the peasants are fully mobilized, the revolutionary armed forces will be entirely able to smash any "encirclement and suppression" by reactionary troops and police and thus carry on their struggle.

Establishment and expansion of the peasant armed forces is a primary condition for persisting in

*Naxalbari is located in the strategic mountainous district of Darjeeling in West Bengal of India.

revolutionary peasant struggle. Speaking of the peasants' forces armed with spears in his masterly work *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*, our great leader Chairman Mao says, "This multitude equipped with spears . . . is a new-born armed power the mere sight of which makes the local tyrants and evil gentry tremble. The revolutionary authorities in Hunan should see to it . . . that every peasant, whether young or in his prime, possesses a spear. . . ." The peasant armed forces in the Naxalbari area today are equipped with bows and arrows, long spears and other locally made weapons. If this "power of bows and arrows, and long spears" is built up on a more extensive scale, it will be able to make the landlord forces and the reactionary troops and police in the rural areas shiver at its sight. The armed peasants not only can safeguard their own survival, but they can also equip themselves with weapons captured from the enemy.

To continuously defeat the enemy's "mopping-up" operations and "encirclement and suppression" campaigns and to win military victories, the peasant armed forces, while still in a position of weakness, must adhere to mobile and flexible guerrilla tactics. So long as these revolutionary forces are good at employing the tactics of "the enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue" (known as the 16-character formula), they will be able to gather strength and exhaust the enemy's effectives. This is an effective method for persevering in armed struggle over a long period and for defeating the enemy and winning victory.

To gain a firm footing and to stick to long-term armed struggle, the revolutionary peasant armed forces must set up and expand their base areas in the countryside. This is an important task for the present Indian peasant revolution.

In their struggle against the reactionary troops and police, the armed peasant forces in Naxalbari have withstood the first rigorous test. This shows that the revolutionary forces in the countryside have ample

space to manoeuvre in and are quite capable of growing and expanding from small to big in the course of struggle.

The Chinese revolution from the very beginning was tested in battle by repeated "encirclement and suppression" and "counter-encirclement and suppression" campaigns. It was only through a protracted struggle that a powerful people's army and vast rural base areas were established and final victory was won. The Indian revolution will naturally be the same. The

peasant's revolutionary struggle in Naxalbari will be long and arduous. It still has to carry out intense struggles to smash one enemy "encirclement and suppression" campaign after another. It will meet with all kinds of difficulties and setbacks. However, so long as the revolutionary peasant armed forces in Naxalbari persevere in following the road of China's revolution and hold high the red banner of armed struggle, they will certainly push the Indian revolution towards victory step by step.

(August 7.)

Historical Lessons of Telengana Uprising

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

THE torch of armed revolution once lit by the peasants of Telengana and later quenched by the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party has been rekindled today by the peasants of Naxalbari in Darjeeling under the leadership of the revolutionaries in the Indian C.P. **That red torch lights the road to victory for the Indian revolution; it points the way the Indian revolution has to take.**

No sooner had the storm of revolution arisen among the Naxalbari peasants than the renegade S.A. Dange group, E.M.S. Namboodiripad and other revisionists shamelessly rushed forward to attack and vilify the revolutionary peasants' great undertaking. The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, on the other hand, are leading the peasants resolutely to take the road of armed struggle. This is the continuation of the protracted struggle between the two lines in the Indian Communist Party.

Since the end of World War II, there has been a constant, sharp and complicated struggle in the Indian Communist Party between these two diametrically opposed lines. On the one side is the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, followed by the revolutionaries in the Party, that is, the line of following the road along which the Chinese revolution advanced to victory, the road of boldly arousing the peasants to revolution, building a people's army, establishing rural revolutionary base areas, waging a protracted armed struggle, encircling the cities from the countryside and eventually winning nationwide victory. The other is the revisionist line pursued by Dange, Namboodiripad and their like. They preach the theory of India being an "exception" and maintain that the parliamentary road of "peaceful transition" should be followed. They oppose violent revolution and want the revolutionary people who have taken up arms to lay them down and abandon their

struggle. This is an out-and-out capitulationist line, a counter-revolutionary line.

The history of the Indian revolution proves that wherever the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, is dominant, a lively revolutionary situation will emerge. On the other hand, wherever a revisionist line gains the upper hand, the **revolutionary people will be betrayed and the revolutionary cause will suffer a setback.**

The peasants' armed struggle in Telengana from 1946 to 1951 was the result of the triumph of the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. At that time, the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, closely relying on the peasants, succeeded in establishing a base area for armed struggle in Telengana. Peasant armed struggles also broke out in Kerala, West Bengal and many other states. However, this excellent situation for the Indian revolution was undermined and finally put an end to by the revisionist line enforced by Dange and his followers. By spinelessly calling for "a negotiated settlement of the Telengana issue," they forced the revolutionary peasants to lay down their arms, and so strangled this vigorous revolutionary movement.

The failure of China's great revolution in 1925-27 resulted from betrayal by opportunism and revisionism represented by Chen Tu-hsiu. Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out that as a result of Chen Tu-hsiu's opportunist capitulationist line **"in 1927, within the space of a few months, the people lost all the rights they had won."** In similar fashion, India's Chen Tu-hsiu pursued a policy of capitulation and betrayal at this critical juncture in the Indian people's revolution, and in a short space of time threw to the four winds the gains won by the Indian people in their revolutionary struggle. This is a painful historical lesson for the Indian people.

The "special" road, that is, the parliamentary road, advocated by the Dange renegade clique and the other revisionists in the Indian Communist Party is treachery, pure and simple, to deceive the people. To put it bluntly, they don the cloak of a "Communist" while prostrating themselves before the landlord and bureaucrat-capitalist classes to beg for some official posts so that they can check and stamp out the people's revolution and loyally safeguard the reactionary rule of imperialism and its lackeys in India.

The struggle of the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party against the revisionist line concerns the success of the Indian revolution and the destiny and future of the 500 million Indian people. The Indian revolution will march to victory step by step if it takes the road of the Chinese revolution, the road of Mao Tse-tung. If the revisionist line is followed, not only will the Indian working people be unable to achieve liberation, but their country will be further reduced to the position of a dependency of U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches us: **"Either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind; there is no room for compromise in the struggle between the two lines."**

The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary people of India should draw on the profound historical lesson of Telengana, draw a clear-cut line of demarcation between themselves and the revisionist line politically, ideologically and organizationally and wage a resolute struggle against modern revisionism centred on the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party will surely enhance their strength in the struggle and build a genuinely revolutionary Party of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Only in this way can they steadfastly carry on the correct revolutionary line, lead the Indian people to defeat the imperialists and their lackeys and win final victory for the Indian people's revolution!

(August 3.)

Armed Struggle in Telengana

AN intense struggle between the two lines has been going on for a long time inside the Indian Communist Party. The struggle has centred on the question of which road the Indian revolution ought to take. This is a key issue upon which the success or failure of the Indian revolution hinges.

Revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party resolutely advocate the seizure of power by armed struggle, and make it clear that they will take the road of the Chinese people who have won victory in their revolution under the guidance of the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Some revisionist chieftains, however, have feverishly pushed ahead with the revisionist parliamentary road, thus doing tremendous harm to the Indian revolution.

Guided by the light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, armed struggle flared and spread in Telengana in 1946-51. Telengana is in the northern part of Andhra State, southeast India, which was at that time part of eastern Hyderabad. It has an area of 44,000 square miles and a population of over 10 million. Its peasants have long been ruthlessly exploited by the British imperialists and feudal forces. Half the land is owned by the princes and most of the rest by the big landlords. More than 50 per cent of the peasants are landless. Under tyrannical rule, the masses live like beasts of burden.

The Telengana people have a glorious tradition of struggle. In the 1930s and early 40s, mass struggles broke out against feudal exploitation, and the influence of the Indian Communist Party grew steadily among the peasants. In 1946 a mass organization, Andhra Mahasabha, led by the Indian Communist Party, had a membership of more than 100,000.

The armed struggle first broke out in Shayapet, Nalgonda District, in June, 1946. It was touched off by the murder of an Andhra Mahasabha official by a landlord. The angered peasants, led by the Indian Communist Party, rose and seized land and weapons from the landlords. The storm of revolution spread rapidly and village people's committees and people's volunteers were established throughout the area. They resisted the 30,000 troops mustered by the Nizam, ruler of Hyderabad.

By the end of 1947, the uprising had spread to 300 villages. Armed struggle continued to surge still higher under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Local organizations of the Indian Communist Party fought steadfastly along the road taken by the Chinese revolution. By September 1948, the whole of Telengana was aflame, and a red political power was set up embracing some 3,000 villages and a population of nearly 3 million. The guerrilla force increased to 2,000

men and 10,000 villagers joined the militia. Agrarian reform was carried out in the liberated areas. About one million acres of land were confiscated from the landlords for free distribution to the landless and land-poor peasants. For the first time in history, the peasants of Telengana were free. The Nizam's regime was shaken to the core.

The Nehru regime at first confined itself to providing the Nizam with arms and ammunition to suppress the uprising. Then, seeing that this feudal prince was in crucial danger, Nehru ordered tens of thousands of troops to invade Hyderabad. Telengana was plunged into a bloodbath. More than a million peasants were arrested and tortured.

Fighting the enemy, but with heavy odds against them, the peasant guerrillas suffered temporary reverses. They were militarily inexperienced and some of their leaders vacillated. Nevertheless, with wide support from the masses, they quickly recovered and carried on the fight. Some of them moved into the jungles to continue operations from there; others resumed their activities shortly after they had been put down. New areas of guerrilla activity were opened up in the coastal districts of Andhra. Between 1948 and 1951, the Congress party never succeeded in quelling by force of arms the armed revolution in Telengana.

After 1949, and especially in 1950 and 1951, the guerrillas used flexible tactics. They ambushed enemy troops, blew up enemy vehicles and attacked munition dumps and police stations. In the three months October-December, 1950, they carried out 344 such operations. By the end of that year, the guerrillas of Karimnagar district had well-established contacts with the people in 300 villages. At the beginning of 1951, guerrillas were active in over 100 villages in the coastal districts of Andhra state. Up to the end of 1951, government troops were still afraid of moving into Telengana's mountain areas.

In October 1950, a vast guerrilla zone of 40,000 square miles with a population of 10 million was established in an area which included Telengana and Andhra of northern Madras.

The brilliant successes achieved by the armed struggle in Telengana had a tremendous impact on peasant struggles all over India. Between 1946 and 1951, peasant armed struggles broke out in Kerala, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Tiripura, Manipur and in the Garo hill country in Assam.

From the very beginning, the armed struggle in Telengana came up against opposition and sabotage from the counter-revolutionary revisionists in the Indian Communist Party. First they slanderously charged that it "undermined the united front" and then they attacked those who advocated following the road of the Chinese revolution as preaching the theory of "leadership by the peasantry." Dange and a handful

of extremely reactionary revisionists openly vilified the peasants' armed struggles as "adventurism" and "individual terrorism." They were determined to betray the armed struggle in Telengana. In a party document issued in September 1950 and again in an open statement in 1951, they vilified the Chinese people's revolutionary war led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and put forward the theory of India's "exceptionalism" in an hysterical attempt to prevent the Indian people from taking the road of the Chinese revolution.

In June 1951, the Indian Communist Party's Central Committee controlled by the handful of revisionists adopted a resolution on settling the Telengana struggle by negotiation. Under pretext of "restoring peaceful conditions in Telengana," they begged for negotiations with the Congress government. In July, they hastily sent a delegation to Hyderabad for talks with the local government. During the talks, the delegation went on its knees asking the government to accept two minimum demands for ending the armed struggle: one, that the government stop seizing the land of the peasants; and two, proclaim an amnesty for the guerrillas. They were categorically rejected by the local government. In October of the same year, the Central Committee of the Indian Communist Party unilaterally issued a statement of capitulation. The statement said that the central committee had decided to advise the Telengana peasantry and the fighting partisans to cease all guerrilla activities, and mobilize the people to defeat the Congress party in the elections.

Thus, the Telengana armed struggle was shamefully betrayed. Mass arrests, jailing and killings of the revolutionary peasants by the Indian reactionaries followed. All the fruits of victory won by the revolutionary peasants in the armed struggle were lost.

In the past decade and more, the heroic armed struggle of the Telengana peasants has had a far-reaching impact on and been a profound lesson for the Indian people longing for liberation. After many setbacks and heavy sacrifices, the Indian masses have come to realize that the parliamentary road of "defeating the Congress party in elections" advocated by the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism is a road of out-and-out betrayal and burial of the Indian revolution. They have come to realize that the only road to genuine liberation is the road of victory of the Chinese revolution led by the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary road of the proletarian vanguard going to the countryside and leading the peasants in armed struggle, the road of building base areas in the countryside, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing political power throughout the country. Only in this way can the Indian people overthrow imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capitalism, those mountains on their backs which weigh them down, and truly achieve liberation to become the masters of their country.



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

P.L.A. — A Great Example for the Oppressed People to Learn From

Representatives of the African nationalist parties and African nationalist fighters in Cairo warmly congratulated the Chinese People's Liberation Army on the 40th anniversary of its founding.

Chazi Mapefane, representative of the Basutoland Congress Party, said in a statement that the great victory of the Chinese people's revolution through armed struggle was the victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought. "The People's Republic of China has now become the most reliable base of world revolution to defeat U.S.-led imperialism completely. Revolutionaries throughout the world study Mao Tse-tung's works with admiration and draw inspiration from them to carry their struggle through to the end. Long live the Chinese People's Liberation Army! Long live Mao Tse-tung's thought!"

Angolan nationalist Nicolas Viera said: "The Chinese people built their own army in the darkest years of their history in accordance with the teachings and directives of the great leader Chairman Mao." He added that this army, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, has today become the strongest revolutionary army in the world and is capable of defending China's territorial integrity, thwarting all menace and defeating all enemies.

Nkosi, Deputy Secretary General of the Swaziland Progressive Party, in his statement quoted Chairman Mao's teaching: "**Without a people's army the people have nothing.**" The statement stressed that "the Chinese people have set a good example for all the oppressed people in the world. The imperialists and their lackeys 'respect' nothing but guns. The only road to achieve liberation for us oppressed people is to wage an armed struggle."

Sithole, representative of the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee, said: "The Chinese P.L.A. is an army founded and educated by Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. It is a highly revolutionized army with a high morale and militant spirit. It has established close relations with the Chinese people, like fish in water." He emphasized that "the great military thinking of Chairman Mao on a people's army and people's war is universally applicable for the oppressed people. The P.L.A. is their great example to learn from. It is total nonsense for the Soviet revisionists to preach begging for independence through peaceful negotiations. Armed struggle is the only way for the oppressed people to achieve liberation."

Mombeshora, representative of the Zimbabwe African National Union, said: "Chairman Mao is the great leader not only of the Chinese people but also of all the people of the world who are struggling against imperialism, colonialism and the reactionaries of all stripes and colours." He called upon all revolutionaries to study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought earnestly in order to attain victory in their struggle.

The Sharpest Weapon for Winning Liberation

In a recent article, the Malayan paper *People's Tribune*, published in Singapore, points out that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the sharpest ideological weapon of the oppressed nations and peoples for winning liberation, the most penetrating ideological weapon of the proletariat for liberating itself and all of mankind.

"The one who is marching at the head of the great storm of world revolution, leading the revolution, leading the world's hundreds of millions of workers, oppressed nations and peoples from one victory to another, is the great leader and teacher of the people of the world, Mao Tse-tung."

"Only by uniting in struggle can the revolutionary people of the world win worldwide victory. To unite, there must be a common and unified thinking and that is the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The revolutionary people must arm themselves with the sharpest ideological weapon in their struggle and that weapon is Mao Tse-tung's thought."

"It is precisely for this reason that Mao Tse-tung's thought is regarded by the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries as a dreadful monster. They have whipped up one adverse current after another on a worldwide scale to oppose, ban and block the spread of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is revolutionary truth and the most reliable guarantee for the victory of the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, Mao Tse-tung's thought cannot be toppled by attack and abuse. The spread of Mao Tse-tung's thought cannot be banned or blocked. Mao Tse-tung's thought is irresistible."

The article also says that the history of mankind's class struggles and struggles for production has proved that truth cannot be banned and is irresistible. Those who try to ban or resist the truth will sooner or later be crushed by the wheel of history and reduced to ashes in the flames of the revolution.

Bankruptcy of "Non-Violence"

Confronted by the stormy Afro-American struggle against tyranny, the Johnson Administration has jettisoned all its mock freedom and democracy and revealed its ferocious features. And those lickspittles groomed and fed by the U.S. ruling clique for the specific purpose of wrecking the Afro-Americans' struggle have revealed their servile features, too.

For years, the U.S. rulers have been using and directing "Negro leaders" like Martin Luther King and his kind to worm their way into the Afro-American movement and preach "non-violence." These stooges of the reactionaries usually act as pious priests and pretend "universal mercy." They talk unctuously about refraining from the use of violence and "contesting in the spirit of love." Yet, when Johnson, frightened by the Afro-American struggle against tyranny in Detroit, let loose nearly 20,000 troops and police to carry out a savage suppression, King & Co. came out with statements publicly supporting the Johnson Administration's violence against the Black people. This immediately unmasked these champions of "non-violence" for what they really are—opponents of revolutionary violence by the oppressed and supporters of the oppressors' counter-revolutionary violence.

Martin Luther King and those like him have gone beyond just supporting the Johnson Administration's counter-revolutionary violence. They are parroting Johnson.

Johnson branded the Afro-Americans' just struggle against tyranny as "criminal," something which should be considered a criminal offense under his "law." And Martin Luther King and his like echoed the same nonsense stating that the struggle of the Afro-Americans is a "criminal act" and that they are "guilty."

Johnson blustered that his administration is determined "to maintain law and order, to condemn and to combat lawlessness in all its forms." King & Co. gave their "full support."

In joining in a duet with Johnson, Martin Luther King and the rest have opened people's eyes: these scoundrels are not "Negro leaders" but hirelings of U.S. monopoly capital and accomplices of the U.S. ruling circles in suppressing and slaughtering the Black people.

Chairman Mao has said: "It is very difficult for the labouring people, who have been deceived and intimidated by the reactionary ruling classes for thousands of years, to awaken to the importance of having guns in their own hands." In preaching non-violence, stooges like Martin Luther King are only helping the U.S. rul-

ing clique to deceive and intimidate the Afro-Americans so as to prevent them from rising in armed rebellion. However, the political awareness of the Afro-American masses is growing daily. They have come to see more clearly than ever the need to meet violent suppression with violent resistance. This is the immutable law governing the development of class struggle. Neither the U.S. rulers' bloody suppression nor the humbug of "non-violence" preached by Martin Luther King and his kind can prevent Black Americans from taking the road of struggle by violence to push the Afro-American movement ahead.

(August 1)

Condemn Johnson's Intimidation and Deception of Afro-Americans

U.S. imperialist chieftain Lyndon Johnson called for intensified suppression of the Afro-Americans' struggle in a speech on July 27. The fight against tyranny by armed Black people, he roared, "must be stopped quickly, finally and permanently." He had to admit, however, that "sternest police action or the most effective federal troops" were insufficient to cope with the embattled Afro-Americans. Thus, in the same breath, Johnson harped on "peace and reconciliation" and asked Afro-Americans to be "law-abiding" and "responsible" so that, as he put it, they could "share in America's prosperity."

Johnson's speech reveals the murderous mood of the U.S. ruling clique, as well as its paper-tiger nature—strong outwardly but brittle inside.

The U.S. President tried to vitiate the Black people's struggle by intimidation and deception. But the swiftly developing fight against tyranny is a powerful reply to Johnson.

"Crime under the law"—this shopworn sophistry was invoked by Johnson to browbeat Afro-Americans into submission. But what does American law mean? Bourgeois law, Engels pointed out long ago, is a "whip" against the proletariat. American law is no exception. To Afro-Americans, American law means enslavement and constant unemployment under monopoly capitalism, being deprived of all political rights, victimized by racial discrimination, and always subjected to fascist outrages of arrest, torture or even murder. The great mass of Afro-Americans and working people in the United States must destroy such law and smash the state apparatus of monopoly capital if they are to free themselves and win liberation. The Afro-Americans have cast aside Johnson's "law" and bravely taken up

arms to meet violence. Their rebellion is justified. They have done very well.

Johnson bawled about stopping the "violence" and called for "peace and reconciliation" to reign in the country. But his manoeuvres can fool nobody. The Johnson Administration relies on counter-revolutionary violence to prop up its reactionary rule. This is used day in and day out to kill revolutionary people at home and abroad. In Detroit recently, it killed or wounded more than 1,000 Afro-Americans and arrested 3,500 others. Johnson's bluster about stopping the "violence" means that his reactionary government is allowed to wantonly massacre the Afro-American masses while the latter are not allowed to resist. His "peace and reconciliation" means that the Afro-Americans should reconcile themselves to being slaves. This is out-and-out gangster logic!

While fiercely brandishing the butcher's knife, Johnson at the same time tried to deceive the Afro-American people with fine words, exhorting them to be "law-abiding" and "responsible" so as to "share in America's prosperity." What is this "America's prosperity"? It is "prosperity" founded on the cruel oppression and exploitation of the masses of the American people by a handful of monopolists. This "prosperity" reaps tens of billions of dollars in supra-profits for the U.S. monopolists whereas the "share" of the Afro-American and other American working people is poverty, hunger and death. The Afro-Americans have had enough of this "prosperity" and are not going to tolerate it any longer. This is the basic reason why they have risen to fight racial oppression.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that **"we must be clear-headed, that is, we must not believe the 'nice words' of the imperialists nor be intimidated by their bluster."** This holds true in dealing with the Johnson Administration.

Johnson's July 27 statement is a good piece of negative material. It enables the fighting Black Americans to see more clearly that their contradiction with the U.S. rulers is irreconcilable and their struggle against this bunch of gangsters a life-and-death one. In the crucible of struggle the masses of Afro-Americans have come to realize still more clearly that to win complete liberation they must overthrow the monstrous U.S. imperialist system totally and thoroughly.

(by Commentator, August 2.)

Ugly Performance by a Political Corpse

Khrushchov's recent "interview," telecast for an American audience, is an attempt to resurrect a political corpse. Sent to the United States with the ruling Soviet revisionist clique's blessings, the telecast provided Khrushchov with an opportunity to shower praise on U.S. imperialism's top dogs, attack China virulently,

preach Soviet-American collaboration and shamelessly defend his record of capitulation and treachery. If anything, the telecast only put on exhibit a putrid political mummy.

Khrushchov has long turned into something filthy and contemptible. Why have Brezhnev, Kosygin and Co. seen fit to bring him out of oblivion to deceive the public?

The rulers in the Kremlin have chosen to do so because they are in a real fix. Over the past few years, this clique has revealed itself again and again as a bunch of inveterate renegades and scabs by its many counter-revolutionary activities of betraying the people of the Soviet Union and other lands. It has found itself in particularly embarrassing straits following its treachery in the Middle East events, an act of betrayal of such magnitude that it has been sharply condemned by people at home and throughout the world. Its own propaganda blasts and the elaborate excuses served up by the big and small lackeys mustered to aid it notwithstanding, the Kremlin has failed to hide its renegade features and pull itself out of its predicament at home and abroad. Hence the clique turned to the political corpse Khrushchov as a last resort.

The Soviet revisionist clique's recent shameless betrayal in the Middle East events is similar to but far worse than Khrushchov's betrayal in the 1962 Caribbean crisis. How the present rulers in the Kremlin boasted about their solidarity with the Arab people and solemnly vowed their support! But when the critical moment came they let the Arabs down without any hesitation. They openly co-operated with U.S. imperialism in putting out the flames of the anti-imperialist struggle kindled by the Arab people. By bragging about his "victory" in the Caribbean crisis, Khrushchov not only intended in the telecast to justify himself but also to whitewash his successors' treacherous behaviour in the Middle East.

When Brezhnev, Kosygin & Co. took over power, they tried to make people believe that they were somehow different from Khrushchov. However, developments from the Caribbean to the Middle East and from Camp David to Glassboro have made it all too clear that they are not only Khrushchov's true successors but excel him in sordidness and shamelessness. Their sponsorship of Khrushchov's performance is added proof that they are carrying out Khrushchovism without Khrushchov in office.

But how can Khrushchov save Brezhnev, Kosygin and their kind from doom when he himself has been driven off the stage of history? By his flash-in-the-pan performance this political mummy is only beckoning his successors to keep him company in the grave.

(August 4)

Chou En-lai and Other Leaders Receive Representatives of Air Force Units

Leading members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee and the departments concerned — Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching, Yang Cheng-wu, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Yao Wen-yuan and Yeh Chun — on August 2 received representatives of members of the Air Force and naval air units who had rendered meritorious service in shooting down enemy aircraft since the beginning of this year. The leaders posed for a group photograph with them.

The Air Force representatives were Comrades Hu Shou-ken and Tung Fu-cheng who shot down a U.S.-made F-104 fighter plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang on January 13; Comrades Sung Yi-min, Tsao Wen-pin and Wang Teh-hua who shot down a U.S. imperialist F-4B fighter on April 24; Comrades Chang Chin-tang and Wen Fu-teh who shot down a U.S. imperialist unmanned high-altitude reconnaissance plane on April 29; Comrades Chang Teng-ko, Wang Chao-feng, Chang Ming-kao and Wei Wan-lien who shot down two U.S. imperialist A-4B fighters on May 1; and Comrades Liu Kuang-tsai and Huang Chin-sheng who shot down a U.S. imperialist unmanned high-altitude reconnaissance plane on June 12.

The representatives from the naval air units were Comrades Wang Chu-shu, Lu Chi-liang and Wang Chao-yu who shot down a U.S. imperialist F-4C fighter plane on June 26. The Chinese leaders also received other comrades who had performed meritorious service.

Agreement on China's Economic and Technical Aid to Vietnam Signed

An agreement on China's economic and technical assistance to Vietnam was signed in Peking on August 5

between the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi attended the signing ceremony. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien signed for China, while Le Thanh Nghi, head of the Vietnamese Government Economic Delegation and Vice-Premier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, affixed his signature for Vietnam.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien gave a farewell banquet for the delegation on the same day. In his speech, the Vice-Premier warmly praised the brilliant victories won by the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. He pointed out that the Vietnamese people's struggle once again proved that people's war was the most effective weapon for thoroughly defeating U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and the broad road for the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world to complete liberation.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said: "Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out that only people's war can defeat the enemy of a nation. The Vietnamese people's war to resist U.S. aggression and save the nation has set another brilliant example of relying on people's war to deal telling blows at the aggressors and to win great victories. We are convinced that the heroic Vietnamese people will surely bury the U.S. imperialists in the vast ocean of the great people's war and win complete victory." The Vice-Premier said that the 700 million Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, would give all-out aid to the Vietnamese people in carrying their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through till final victory.

Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi, in his speech, said that satisfactory results had been achieved in the talks between Vietnam and China on economic assistance because of the consistent and firm support and all-

out assistance given by the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government, the fraternal Chinese people and the respected and beloved Chairman Mao to the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people and especially to their present struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi said that the present assistance from China was of extremely great significance. It would help strengthen further the economic and national defence potential of the Vietnamese people to defeat all the new plots and military adventures of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and to win still greater victories. The assistance was a new and strong encouragement to the army men and civilians of the whole of Vietnam in striving to bring into effect President Ho Chi Minh's historic call. The assistance would also be conducive to the further strengthening of the militant unity and fraternal friendship between the two Parties and peoples of Vietnam and China.

Red Guard Delegation Welcomed Back From Albania

More than 10,000 Peking Red Guards and proletarian revolutionaries attended a rally in the Great Hall of the People on August 2 to warmly welcome the Chinese Red Guard delegation, led by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, on its return from the 5th Congress of the Albanian Union of Working Youth and its visit to Albania (see *Peking Review*, Nos. 29 & 30).

Among the leading members of the Party Central Committee, the Cultural Revolution Group under it and the departments concerned attending the rally were Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Hsieh Fu-chih, Liu Ning-I, Chiang Ching, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Li, Kuan Feng and Chi Pen-yu. Also present were Albanian Ambassador

to China Vasil Nathanaili and his wife.

Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, who presided, delivered a speech of welcome. He warmly congratulated the Red Guard delegation for furthering the unbreakable militant friendship between the Chinese and Albanian Parties, peoples and youth and thus making a contribution to the international communist movement.

He said: "The great Red Guard movement originated in the homeland of Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is contemporary Marxism-Leninism at its highest. The movement is the offshoot of the new stage of China's socialist revolution; it is a great creation in the international communist movement in the 1960s. Under the solicitous attention and instruction of our great supreme commander Chairman Mao and the guidance of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, the young Red Guard fighters have held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the banner of revolutionary criticism and repudiation, rendered tremendous service to the great proletarian cultural revolution and written an immortal chapter in the annals of the international communist movement."

He stressed that the present domestic and international situation was excellent. Nevertheless, we must not forget that imperialism and all reactionaries are unwilling to withdraw from the arena of history, he continued. They are resisting stubbornly in a last-ditch struggle and are launching a frenzied counter-attack. All revolutionary people and the heroic young Red Guard fighters must raise their vigilance a hundred-fold, hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, give further play to their proletarian revolutionary rebel spirit, penetratingly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road until they are toppled and completely discredited, carry out the struggle-criticism-transformation in their

own units well and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Chinese revolution and the world revolution through to the end!

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan spoke next. He said that under the solicitous attention of Chairman Mao, our supreme commander and the red sun shining brightly in our hearts, and under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and the Cultural Revolution Group under it, the Red Guard delegation had successfully fulfilled its first mission abroad. It had returned to Peking, to the side of Chairman Mao, bringing back the revolutionary spirit and friendship of the Albanian youth and people, their enormous love and respect for Chairman Mao and their warm support for China's great proletarian cultural revolution and the Red Guard movement.

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan said that Comrade Enver Hoxha highly praised the great militant friendship and revolutionary unity of the Albanian and Chinese Parties, peoples and youth, and China's great proletarian cultural revolution: firmly supported our exposure and smashing of the plot of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road to usurp Party, government and military power and to bring about a counter-revolutionary restoration; and warmly praised China's Red Guard movement, expressing his hope that the Red Guards would always adhere to Mao Tse-tung's thought and make still greater contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

He also said that Comrade Hoxha wished Chairman Mao good health at all times and a long, long life and had asked the delegation to convey the Albanian people's highest revolutionary tribute to Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, to Premier Chou En-lai and to Comrades Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng and Chiang Ching.

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan told how the Albanian people and youth, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Hoxha, were courageously standing at the forefront to defend the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, and he spoke of their brilliant

achievements in the struggle to oppose U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, and in socialist construction. He made special mention of how the Albanian youth were pushing ahead with the campaign to revolutionize themselves.

He stressed that China's Red Guards have a great internationalist responsibility. Chairman Mao teaches us that **only by emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally emancipate itself.** This includes the task of world revolution. We Red Guards should resolutely implement the teachings of Chairman Mao, and always bear in mind the oppressed people and nations and the tasks of the world revolution, he declared.

Concluding, he said: "We Red Guards are always loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought, to the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to proletarian internationalism, and are always Chairman Mao's faithful young Red fighters!"

On August 4 Ambassador Nathanaili gave a banquet in honour of the Red Guard delegation's return.

Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Hsien-nien, Hsieh Fu-chih, Liu Ning-I and Chiang Ching were among those attending the banquet, which was filled with an atmosphere of revolutionary friendship and fraternal unity.

Chinese and Albanian comrades repeatedly exchanged toasts and greetings and shouted "Long live the militant friendship between the Chinese and Albanian people!" "Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha!" and "Long live Chairman Mao!"

Ambassador Nathanaili and Comrade Yao Wen-yuan spoke at the banquet. Comrade Chou En-lai also made a warm speech.

Premier Chou Receives Somali Artists' Delegation

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun received all the members of the Somali Artists' Delegation headed by Jama Khalaf on July 26 and had a cordial and

friendly conversation with them. They told Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun at the reception that they cherished a warm love for Chairman Mao, and they sang *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*.

Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun attended their performance on the evening of July 26. The songs and dances they performed expressed the Somali people's love for Chairman Mao, the red sun in the hearts of the world's people, and praised the friendship between the Chinese and Somali peoples. Holding their copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, they sang the Somali song *In Praise of Chairman Mao* and the Chinese songs *The East Is Red* and *Long Live Chairman Mao!* Their performance won round after round of enthusiastic applause.

China Reaffirms Complete Respect for Cambodia's Territorial Integrity

Acting on instructions from the Chinese Government. Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in Cambodia Cheng Ssu-hsiung called on Cambodian Foreign Minister Norodom Phurissara on July 31 and reaffirmed the Chinese Government's complete respect for and recognition of the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia within her present borders and firmly opposed all conspiratorial activities by U.S. imperialism in its aggression against Cambodia.

The Government of the People's Republic of China, Cheng Ssu-hsiung pointed out, has noted the statement of the Royal Government of Cambodia issued on July 22, 1967. U.S. imperialism and its vassals in Thailand and its puppets in south Vietnam have all along invaded the borders of the Kingdom of Cambodia and threatened Cambodia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. After the Royal Government of Cambodia issued communiques on November 2, 1966 and May 9, 1967 concerning respect for the territorial integrity of Cambodia within her present borders, U.S. imperialism has resorted to trickery and wilfully distorted the meaning

of the communiques in an attempt to keep the door open for continued aggression against Cambodia. U.S. imperialism's plot is extremely clear.

Cheng Ssu-hsiung stressed the Chinese Government's consistent respect for Cambodia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and expressed its support for the stand of the Royal Government of Cambodia as elucidated in its July 22 statement.

Peking Rally Condemns British Authorities in Hongkong

More than 15,000 Peking journalists, film workers and Red Guards assembled on August 4 to angrily denounce the fascist atrocities of the British authorities in Hongkong.

Presided over by Lu Pin, First Secretary of the All-China Journalists' Association, the meeting was attended by Comrades Kuan Feng and Chi Pen-yu, members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee; Djawoto, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association; Ichihei Sugiyama and Abdul Rahman Aboukoss, members of the Association's Secretariat; and other foreign friends.

Wang Wei-chen, representative of the Chinese press, addressed the rally. He warmly praised the patriotic fellow countrymen, newsmen and film workers in Hongkong for their tit-for-tat struggle against the enemy. He pointed out that the British imperialist atrocities in Hongkong and the arrest and persecution of patriotic journalists was a striking exposure of its fear of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, of the resplendent thought of Mao Tse-tung and of the fragile nature of British imperialism being outwardly strong but inwardly weak.

Others who took the floor were representatives of Peking's film circles, workers and college and middle school students in the capital. Hongkong and Kowloon must return to the embrace of the motherland and the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought is sure to fly triumphantly over Hongkong and Kowloon for ever, they said.

Djawoto of the A.A.J.A. told the rally: "We unconditionally support our comrades and colleagues, the Chinese revolutionary journalists in Hongkong, who, in carrying out their reporting assignments with the sole aim of spreading the truth, are courageously defying the brutalities committed by the British imperialists and their henchmen." "To rebel is justified, we are rebelling journalists, upholders of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Let us march forward!" Djawoto concluded.

The rally made it known that the illegal sentences passed on Comrade Hsueh Ping and others by the British authorities in Hongkong (see *Peking Review* No. 31, 1967) are completely null and void. The British authorities must immediately stop the white terror and release our patriotic press and film workers.

Earlier, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions made a statement on July 30 saying that the Chinese people will never tolerate the evil and criminal deeds, the killing and persecution of their class brothers and patriotic fellow countrymen, by British imperialism on the Chinese soil of Hongkong and Kowloon. It pointed out that the British authorities in Hongkong must immediately stop their fascist atrocities and put into effect all the demands made by the Chinese Foreign Ministry (see *Peking Review* No. 21, 1967) and patriotic Chinese in Hongkong and Kowloon. Otherwise, the Chinese working class, together with its brother workers and patriotic fellow countrymen in Hongkong and Kowloon, will certainly adopt every effective method to crush reactionary British fascist rule in Hongkong.

On the same day, the A.C.F.T.U. remitted in care of the Hongkong and Kowloon Federation of Trade Unions another 10 million Hongkong dollars to the Committee of the Hongkong-Kowloon Compatriots of All Circles for Struggle Against Persecution by the Hongkong British Authorities in support of the struggle against British imperialism and British violence. The first remittance of 10 million Hongkong dollars was sent on June 13.

(Continued from p. 20.)

daunted by the British fascist brutes, they have waged tit-for-tat struggles against the enemy. Hongkong workers in different trades are victoriously carrying on their big joint strike. Beginning July 17, Hongkong seamen have joined the fighting ranks of the strike while fishermen in Hongkong and Kowloon also have formed a huge force against British imperialism. Our patriotic fellow countrymen in all walks of life, in close co-ordination with the big strike, have unfolded heroic and dogged battles on various fronts.

The bloody suppression by British imperialism has already met with increasingly fierce resistance from our patriotic fellow countrymen in Hongkong. Using multifarious home-made weapons, they have begun to strike back in self-defence against the counter-revolutionary violence of British imperialism. This is the law of class struggle independent of human will.

Since British imperialism is employing troops, police, riot squads and all kinds of weapons, including armoured cars and helicopters to suppress Chinese in Hongkong, there is no reason why the latter should not employ all necessary means to counter-attack in self-defence. British imperialists in Hongkong, who are arch criminals, and their henchmen, while committing unrestrained murder and arson there, are hoping to get away without being severely punished by our fellow countrymen in Hongkong and the Chinese people at large. Isn't this a daydream?

Our patriotic fellow countrymen in Hongkong are worthy of being called heroic sons and daughters of China who are nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought. They fear no sacrifice, advance wave upon wave, courageously charge on, and gain one great victory after another at the cost of their blood. Whether it is in the face of attacks by the Hongkong British troops and police and riot squads, or it is in the enemy's prison cell and courtroom, they would sooner die than give in, resolutely striking back at British imperialism. With the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung at hand our patriotic fellow countrymen in Hongkong are in possession of the strongest moral force and can crush any enemy, and cannot be brought to bend the knee by him.

Our Hongkong compatriots' great struggle against British imperialism and its violence is a tight noose around the neck of British imperialism. Chinese workers and other patriotic countrymen in Hongkong are tightening it further. Should the enemy refuse to surrender, let him be hanged!

British imperialism must understand this: Hongkong and Kowloon have always been Chinese territory. We sternly warn British imperialism: He who plays with fire will be burnt; as you people keep walking along this path, you are only going up a blind alley. Don't say that you have not been warned beforehand!

(“*Renmin Ribao*,” August 7.)

PEKING REVIEW

Vol. 10. No. 33

August 11, 1967

Published in English, French, Spanish,

Japanese and German editions

IN THIS ISSUE

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Bombard the Headquarters

— **My Big-Character Poster**
(August 5, 1966)

Mao Tse-tung 5

Completely Smash the Bourgeois Headquarters 6

— *Hongqi* editorial

Bombard the Bourgeois Headquarters 9

— *Renmin Ribao* editorial

Nationwide Army Day Celebrations 11

Great Cultural Revolution in Progress 14

Down With Anyone Who Opposes Chairman Mao! 15

— Ku Ah-tao

Kenji Miyamoto Group's Betrayal

— *Renmin Ribao* Commentator 17

Indonesian Reactionaries' Desperate Struggle 19

Tighten the Noose Around British Imperialism's

Neck — *Renmin Ribao* Commentator 20

Let the Red Flag of Naxalbari Fly Still Higher 21

— *Renmin Ribao* Commentator

Historical Lessons of Telengana Uprising 22

— *Renmin Ribao* Commentator

Armed Struggle in Telengana 23

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights the Whole World 25

“*Renmin Ribao*” Commentaries 26

THE WEEK 28

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW, Peking (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922 Cable Address: Peking 2910
Printed in the People's Republic of China

北京周报第三十三期（一九六七年八月十一日出版）邮政代号二一九二二

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

In Albanian, Arabic, Burmese, English, French, German,
Hausa, Hindi, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean,
Mongolian, Nepalese, Norwegian, Persian, Portuguese,
Russian, Spanish, Swahili, Thai, Vietnamese and Esperanto

9 × 13 cm.

pocket size

With red plastic cover

Published by: FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, Peking, China

Distributed by: GUOZI SHUDIAN (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to the

Mail Order Dept., GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China
